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THE STORY OF A MOUND; OR, THE SHAWNEES IN PRE-COLUMBIAN TIMES.

BY PROF. CYRUS THOMAS.

CHAPTER II.

Engraved Shells and Stone Images.—Probably no one will read the account of the excavation of the Etowah mound and the description of the articles found in it without being led to the belief that the principal personage buried here was a chief, and that the others buried in the same mound were members of his family.

Such being the case, we might expect to find buried with them some of the articles which were prized most highly. Great physical powers are highly appreciated among barbaric and savage peoples. The bones in this case show that this chief, if such was his position, was of large stature and powerful physical frame, and hence, as we may reasonably infer, more than usually honored.

As additional evidence that this individual, whether chief or brave or medicine man, pertained to the Shawnee stock, we refer to the engraved shells. In alluding to these it is taken for granted that the evidence presented is sufficient to justify the assumption that the box-shaped stone graves south of the Ohio are attributable to the Shawnees; hence it follows that the articles found in these graves must have been in possession of the people of this tribe, and that whatever types seem to be limited thereto must have been peculiar to that people. The engraved shells alluded to are the ornamental disks, or, as Mr. Holmes terms them in his paper on "Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans,"* "engraved gorgets"—frequently found in mounds and graves. The localities where those mentioned by Mr. Holmes, and others which have been found since his paper was prepared, were obtained, are as follows:

Union county, Ill.	From mound.
Mississippi county, Mo.	" grave.
Loudon county, Tenn.	" mound.
Greene county, Tenn.	" "

* Second Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 185-305.

Davidson county, Tenn.	From mound.
Knox county, Tenn.	" "
Williamson county, Tenn.	" "
Williamson county, Tenn.	" stone grave.
Mississippi (locality not given)	
Stewart county, Tenn.	" stone grave.
New Madrid county, Mo.	" mound.
St. Clair county, Ill.	" "
St. Clair county, Ill.	" stone grave.
Loudon county, Tenn.	" mound.
Sevier county, Tenn.	" "
Bartow county, Ga.	" "
Monroe county, Tenn.	" mounds.
Meigs county, Tenn.	" "
Lee county, Va.	" mound.
Caldwell county, N. C.	" mounds.
Near Mussel Shoals, Alabama	" cave.

The locality of the gorget in the National Museum marked "Mississippi" is more than doubtful. Excluding this from the list, it will be observed that all the specimens of this class have been found in western North Carolina, in Tennessee, northern Georgia, the extreme southwestern county of Virginia, southern Illinois, and southeastern Missouri; but western North Carolina and eastern and middle Tennessee are the sections where the larger number have been obtained. Although having an extensive range, it seems that they have been obtained, with the exception of a few isolated examples, in localities occupied for a time by the Shawnees or Cherokees, and that, with the exception of those found in western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee, they pertain to the works of the authors of the box-shaped stone graves.

It is worthy of notice in this connection that the "bird-head" figure appearing on one class of engraved shells, found almost exclusively in the stone graves of middle Tennessee, appears also, and in the same type, both on stone and bone implements in New Jersey. In regard to these Dr. Abbott remarks as follows: *

"As bearing directly upon the question of the significance of these representations of heads of birds, attention is here called to a shell disk from Tennessee [reproduced here in Fig. 7], upon which are four figures similar to the two on the knife from New Jersey. Such carved shells are quite common in Tennessee and southward, and

* Primitive Industry, pp. 72-74.

have been usually taken from graves. Can they be regarded as totems? It has been stated of the Virginia Indians [Beverly, History of Virginia] 'of this shell [cunk] they also make round tablets of about four inches in diameter, which they polish as smooth as the other [shell beads, etc.], and sometimes they etch or grave thereon circles, stars, a half-moon, or *any other* figure suitable to their fancy. These they wear instead of medals before or behind their neck, etc.' Here we see a reference apparently to just such shell disks as Fig. [7]; and the interest in the reproduction of the same figures on other objects, found in New Jersey, lies in the probable indication that there is, in the latter, a trace, at least, of tribal



FIGURE 7.

relationship with the southern Indians. Did we not learn from the writings of Heckwelder that the Lenapè had 'the turkey totem,' we might suppose that this drawing of such bird heads originated with the intrusive Shawnees, who, at one time, occupied lands in the Delaware Valley, and who are supposed by some writers to have been closely related to the earliest inhabitants of the southern and southwestern states. Inasmuch as we shall find that, not only on this slate knife, but upon a bone implement also, similar heads of birds are engraved, it is probable that the identity of the design is not a mere coincidence, but that it must be explained

either in accordance with the statements of Heckwelder, or be considered as the work of southern Shawnees, after their arrival in New Jersey. In the latter event, the theory that these disks were the work of a people different from and anterior to the Indians found in the Cumberland Valley, at the time of the discovery of that region by the whites is, apparently, not sustained by the facts."

Correcting Dr. Abbott's error in stating that these shells which are "quite common in Tennessee" are also common farther "southward," it must be admitted that the appearance of these bird heads, similar in the mode of representation and relative positions, at two distant localities, in each of which representatives of the same tribe resided, is a very strong proof that they are attributable to people of that tribe.

In addition to the evidence of the use of engraved shells among the Indians adduced by Dr. Abbott the following is presented :

Lawson, who travelled through North and South Carolina in the year 1700, states that* "the Indians oftentimes make of a certain large sea-shell a sort of gorge, which they wear about their neck with a string, so it hangs on their collar, whereon is sometimes engraved a cross or some odd sort of figure which comes next in their fancy." Adair states that the priest wears a breastplate made of a white conch-shell with two holes bored in the middle of it, through which he puts the ends of an otter-skin strap and fastens a buck-horn white button to the outside of each. Here, then, is evidence of a custom among Indians precisely similar to that which prevailed among the mound-builders and makers of the stone graves of the region to which reference has been made ; but it is unnecessary for me to enlarge on the evidence relating to this custom, as I have shown in a previous work † that the Cherokees were mound-builders after reaching their historic seat in North Carolina and eastern Tennessee, and were in the habit of making and using engraved shell gorgets. The manufacture and use of these articles are thus brought to a date contemporaneous with the residence of the Shawnees in their historic seats. Not only so, but it is shown that they were in use among a contiguous tribe. It was also demonstrated in the same work that there are strong reasons for believing that the Cherokees derived this custom from the Shawnees. We will now present some addi-

* History of Carolina, p. 315. Raleigh, 1850.

† "The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times." Published by the Science Company, 1890.

tional and more specific evidence drawn from these shells which bears on this point.

Referring again to the figures of bird heads, our supposition as to the makers is strongly supported by the following facts: First, that no shells bearing figures of this type have been found in works attributable to the Cherokees; second, that with the exception of a single specimen, the locality of which as given is more than doubtful, all have been obtained from box-shaped stone graves or mounds in the immediate vicinity thereof. Mr. Holmes informs us in his paper before referred to, that he has "been able to find six of these specimens." One of them, the specimen labeled "Mississippi" in the National Museum, is shown in his plate LVIII; another (shown in our Figure 7) was obtained by Dr. Curtiss, while exploring in behalf of the Peabody Institute, from a stone grave on the farm of Mrs. Williams, Cumberland River, middle Tennessee; the third specimen (Mr. Holmes' fig. 2, plate LIX) was obtained by Mr. Cross from a stone grave on Mr. Overton's farm near Nashville, Tennessee; the fourth specimen was taken from a stone grave near Gray's mound, at Old Town, Williamson County, Tennessee; another was obtained from a stone grave in Cumberland Valley, middle Tennessee, and the fragment of another on the surface in Humphreys County, Tennessee.

It is apparent, therefore, that they are to be attributed to the people who buried in stone graves of the box-shaped type, and this is, with very few, if any, exceptions, the only type found in the middle portion of Tennessee. Connecting this with the discovery of the bird-head figure by Dr. Abbott in the Delaware Valley, where a portion of the Shawnees resided for a time, we are justified in attributing it to them. It is also worthy of notice that although the figure of the latter specimen as published by Dr. Abbott and Mr. Holmes does not show the looped band, the latter remarks in a note,* that after this part of his report was in type he had seen the specimen and found the looped figure to be clearly defined. This close adherence to the type strengthens the position above taken in regard to the builders of the stone graves south of the Ohio.

The fact that these engraved shells show relationship in design to figures and symbols of the more civilized nations of Mexico and Central America is admitted, and will be discussed further on, after

*Second Annual Rep. Bur. Eth., p. 285.

others exhibiting a similar relationship have been cited. In regard to the figures here alluded to, it will not be out of place to quote the following from a previous paper by the writer*, relating to two plates of the Mexican and Maya codices:

"Among the important results growing out of, and deductions to be drawn from, my discovery in regard to these two plates, I may mention the following:

"*First.* That the order in which the groups and characters are to be taken is around to the left, opposite the course of the sun, which tallies with most of the authorities, and in reference to the Maya calendar confirms Perez's statement, heretofore mentioned.

"*Second.* That the cross, as has been generally supposed, was used among these nations as a symbol of the cardinal points.

"*Third.* It tends to confirm the belief that the bird figures were used to denote the winds. This fact also enables us to give a signification to the bird's heads on the engraved shells found in the mounds of the United States, a full and interesting account of which is given by Mr. Holmes in a paper published in the Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology [page 281, plate 69]. Take, for example, the three shells figured on plate LIX, * * * Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Here is, in each case, the four-looped circle corresponding with the four loops of the Cortesian and Fejervary plates, also with the looped serpent of the Mexican calendar stone, and the four serpents of plate 43 of the Borgian Codex. The four bird heads on each shell are pointed toward the left, just as on plate 44 of the Fejervary Codex and plates 65 and 66 of the Vatican Codex B, and doubtless have the same signification in the former as in the latter—the *four winds*, or winds of the four cardinal points. If this supposition be correct, of which there is scarcely room for a doubt, it not only confirms Mr. Holmes's suggestions, but also indicates that [some of] the mound-builders followed the same custom in this respect as the Nahua nations, and renders it quite probable that there was more or less intercourse between the two peoples, which will enable us to account for the presence in the mounds of certain articles, which otherwise appear as anomalies."

Before presenting suggestions as to the origin of these engraved shells and the means by which they found their way into the interior

* Notes on Certain Maya and Mexican Manuscripts, in 3d Ann. Rep. Bu. Eth., p. 61.

section where they were obtained, others will be referred to which seem to belong to the same category.

The shell gorgets found in the Etowah mound, of which a description and one figure have been given, belong essentially to the type shown in Mr. Holmes's plate LXXIV, which was taken from the McMahan mound, near Sevierville, Sevier County, Tennessee. These are from the range of the stone-grave builders. The singular gorgets shown in Mr. Holmes's plates LXXI and LXXII have also the appearance of being exotic designs. Mr. Holmes, without any reference whatever to the question now under discussion, makes the following remark in regard to these and one of the type above mentioned: "I now come to a class of works which are new and unique and in more than one respect are the most important objects of aboriginal art yet found within the limits of the United States. These relics are four in number and come from that part of the mound-building district occupied at one time by the 'stone-grave' peoples."*

This, from one who has made a careful study of the engraved shells from the ancient works, with special reference to the art displayed and the types presented, is strong testimony in favor of the view which is here presented.

Referring again to the engraved copper plates, attention is directed to one or two facts which are important in this connection:

First. It is noticeable that in all their leading features the designs, like those on the shells described, are essentially Mexican or Central American, indicating the same origin and the same channel of introduction into this interior section; yet a close inspection brings to light one or two features which are anomalies in Mexican and Central American designs; as, for example, the fact that the wings in the figures are represented as rising from the backs of the shoulders. Although numerous figures of winged individuals in Mexican designs can be found, they always reveal the idea that the individual is partly or completely clothed in the skin of the bird. This idea is partly carried out in our copper plates, as we see by the bird-bill over the head, the eye being that of the bird and not of the man. The feet in the Mexican figures are usually, if not always, bird-like, as shown on one of the mound shells figured by Mr. Holmes; yet in the figures on the copper plates not only are the

* Second Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 297.

feet human, but it is evident that the artist had in mind the angel figure with the wings rising from the back of the shoulders—an idea wholly foreign to Mexican art until introduced by the Spaniards.

Second. Plates of this class, so far as I can ascertain, have only been found in northern Georgia, northern and southern Illinois, and middle Tennessee; all, except one, in stone graves. Those from Illinois show dancing human figures and birds. Those from middle Tennessee appear to be fragments of larger plates which have been broken and the pieces subsequently riveted together without regard to the figure. The present argument, however, hinges on the fact that these singular specimens have only been found (with a single exception) in stone graves in the Shawnee district—a fact which bears upon the origin, at least, of mound *C* of the Etowah group, and seems to connect it, as do all the other data, with the Shawnees.



FIGURE 8.

The other and more common engraved shells bearing the serpent figure (a specimen of which is shown in fig. 8), also form a factor of some weight in this discussion. As has been shown by the writer in a previous work,* not only were the Cherokees mound-

*The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times.

builders while in their historic seats in western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee, but they also used engraved shells of this type. It is also shown in the above work that the people of the same tribe formerly lived in Ohio and were the builders of some of the more important works of that State; but they did not make use of engraved shells until they had reached their southern historic seats. This fact, supposing the theory advanced in that work to rest upon satisfactory evidence, renders it more than probable that the habit was acquired from some tribe or tribes with which they came in contact after reaching their southern habitat. Arts and customs, as is well known to ethnologists, do not always possess ethnic or tribal significance, as they are often borrowed. As the Cherokees were neighbors of the Shawnees and, though generally at war with them, were sometimes in friendly intercourse, even allowing a band to settle in their midst, the origin of their custom of using these shells is readily explained, if, as we contend, they were in use among the Shawnees.

The evidence presented warrants us, therefore, in assuming that the Shawnees were the authors of the box-shaped stone graves found south of the Ohio; that the use of the engraved shells of the types indicated and of the figured copper plates mentioned originated with, or was first introduced among, them; and that they, for a time at least, held and occupied the locality of the Etowah group, and that they buried in mound C.

Copper Plates.—As some suggestions regarding the copper plates will not be out of place, the following are offered as, perhaps, according most nearly with the known data bearing on the question.

Assuming as satisfactorily proven that the Shawnees were the authors of the box-shaped stone graves south of the Ohio, and were mound-builders, it follows from the distribution of the works attributable to them and from historical evidence, that the territory occupied by them in prehistoric and historic times may be designated as follows: An irregular belt commencing on the west in the vicinity of St. Louis, Missouri, extending across southern Illinois, the southern half of Kentucky, middle Tennessee, and northern Georgia, to the headwaters of the Savannah River. The residence by portions of the tribe on the Delaware River, in Virginia and in Ohio, in comparatively modern times, is omitted from present consideration.

It is true that a portion, perhaps a large portion, of the stone graves in southern Illinois are attributable to tribes of the Illinois Indians, but those in Gallatin county are certainly to be ascribed to the Shawnees. The character of some of the works and the presence of engraved shells and stamped copper plates warrant the belief that the Shawnees were the makers also of a portion of those graves and mounds found in the western part of southern Illinois and the adjoining portions of Missouri. If this opinion be correct, the fact can be explained only on the supposition that some of these Indians occupied the region for a time during the mound-building age.

It appears to be the prevailing belief at present that this tribe formerly dwelt in Ohio, whence they were driven by the Iroquois to the valley of the Cumberland. This is the conclusion reached by Messrs. Force and Royce in the papers already referred to, both identifying them with the Eries or Cat Nation, and the latter with the Massawomekes of Smith. Parkman is also inclined to believe they represent the Eries, who formerly occupied the region immediately south of Lake Erie.

It is not necessary to discuss fully this opinion now, as it appears to be discarded by most archæologists; but it will not be out of place to call attention to the statement in the Jesuit Relation for 1648 that the Eries spoke a dialect of the Huron-Iroquois stock,—a conclusion, I believe, generally adopted by our linguists of the present day. To this may be added the fact that the Iroquois always spoke of the Shawnees as “Satanas” and distinguished them from the Eries. These very serious objections to the theory are supposed by its advocates to be overcome by the statements of Perrot, Sagard, and some of the Jesuit fathers respecting a tribe living south of the lakes, believed to be Shawnees, and in all probability properly so regarded. But it must be borne in mind that the locations of tribes by the old authors, with which they had no direct intercourse, are not reliable—a fact well known to every student of our early history.

A still more serious objection to the above theory is to be found in the mound and grave testimony. As the Shawnees were mound-builders and buried in stone graves, their works in Ohio should correspond in some respects with those in Tennessee; but in the particular region supposed to have been occupied by the Eries,—to wit, along the southern shore of Lake Erie,—such works are almost

wholly wanting,—stone graves having been observed so far in but two counties of this section, and in these cases near the sites of Delaware villages,—while, on the contrary, the works of this region are very decidedly of Iroquois type. Moreover, the people who buried in stone graves in Ohio, except in the southwestern portion, appear to have abandoned, or never to have adopted, the custom of mound-building, as graves of this kind are seldom found in mounds in this state; nor do these graves appear to have any relation to the typical works of this region, as those of the Scioto Valley.

That the builders of the typical Ohio works were different people from those who constructed the works and buried in the stone graves of middle Tennessee, is proven by the following facts: In the first place, the works of the latter region are of a wholly different type from those of the former; the so-called “altars” or the remains of wooden vaults are not found in them as in the former; there are marked distinctions in the pottery; there is also a strongly marked difference in the pipes. The carved stone pipes with the broad base, so common in Ohio, are wholly unknown to the stone-grave area south of the Ohio, and in fact to the whole area above assigned to the Shawnees. A few remarkable stone pipes have been found in middle Tennessee and adjoining portions of Kentucky, but they are so different in type as to indicate tribal differences.

Another significant fact in this connection is that no carved shells of the Tennessee and North Carolina type and no stamped copper plates have been found in the Ohio works.

These facts appear to be sufficient not only to show that the Shawnees were not the builders of the works of northern Ohio, nor of what are usually designated as the typical works of that State, as the combined circles, squares, and octagons, but also to forbid the idea, advanced by some writers, that the latter people, driven south by northern hordes, became incorporated into the tribes of the southern states. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the characteristics of the Ohio works (except the pyramidal form of a few), and of the vestiges of art found in them, are wanting in the southern states. That to the Shawnees may be attributed the hill forts and some other remains found in southwestern Ohio is rendered probable from considerations which will be presented hereafter.

The stamped copper plates from the Etowah mound, which have

already been described and figured,* are perhaps the most puzzling articles which have been found in connection with the ancient works of our country. Dr. Charles Rau, who was probably more familiar with the vestiges of art obtained from the mounds of the United States than any other person, freely admitted that they formed one of the most difficult archæological puzzles known to him.

Some reasons have already been presented for believing them to be the work of Europeans or of native Mexican artists subsequent to the Spanish conquest, but they have a bearing upon the particular point now under consideration, which is worthy of passing notice. That they indicate an advance in art beyond the attainments of any of the Indian tribes will doubtless be admitted by all, and that the designs they bear must have been derived from Mexico or Central America is evident. We are therefore restricted to three possible suppositions: *First*, that they are the work of a Mexican or Central American tribe which occupied this particular locality in pre-Columbian times; *second*, that they were obtained by intercourse with Mexico or Yucatan, across the Gulf; and, *third*, that they were introduced by the Spaniards or other civilized adventurers or traders. The reasons for rejecting the first supposition have already been given. The objections to the second are (1) the plates bear the impress of European ideas, as shown by the position of the wings; (2) they reveal what seems to be conclusive proof that the artisans who made them used hard, metallic tools; (3) it is not likely such marked evidences of this intercourse would be found at this distant and far inland locality, while few, if any, such indications are found elsewhere. It is not impossible, nor even improbable, that now and then an article may have passed from hand to hand across the country from Mexico to and even east of the Mississippi; but signs of such traffic should be more frequent as we approach the Mexican boundary, which is not the case. It may be inferred from the figures that the plates were not introduced by the French or English traders or explorers. The only reasonable supposition left us, therefore, is that they were introduced by Spaniards.

The history of the celebrated Tukabachi plates may possibly throw some light on this find. These are first mentioned by Adair.†

* See "Burial Mounds of the Northern Section," *Ann. Rep. Bur. Eth.*, 1881.

† *History of American Indians*, pp. 178, 179, note.

As his statement is incorporated by Pickett,* and accompanied by some additional testimony in regard to them, I quote the account as given by the latter :

“ The Tookabatchas brought with them to the Tallapoosa some curious brass plates, the origin and objects of which have much puzzled the Americans of our day, who have seen them. Such information respecting them as has fallen into our possession, will be given. On the 27th July, 1759, at the Tookabatcha square, William Balsover, a British trader, made inquiries concerning their ancient relics, of an old Indian Chief named Bracket, near an hundred years of age. There were two plates of brass and five of copper. The Indians esteemed them so much, that they were preserved in a private place, known only to a few Chiefs, to whom they were annually entrusted. They were never brought to light but once in a year, and that was upon the occasion of the Green Corn Celebration, when, on the fourth day, they were introduced in what was termed the ‘brass plate dance.’ Then one of the high Prophets carried one before him, under his arm, ahead of the dancers—next to him the head warrior carried another, and then others followed with the remainder, bearing aloft, at the same time, white canes, with the feathers of the swan at the tops.

“ Formerly, the Tookabatcha tribe had many more of these relics, of different sizes and shapes, with letters and inscriptions upon them, which were given to their ancestors by the Great Spirit, who instructed them that they were only to be handled by particular men, who must at the moment be engaged in fasting, and that no unclean woman must be suffered to come near them or the place where they were deposited. Bracket further related, that several of these plates were then buried under the Micco’s cabin in Tookabatcha, and had lain there ever since the first settlement of the town ; that formerly it was the custom to place one or more of them in the grave by the side of a deceased Chief of the pure Tookabatcha blood, and that no other Indians in the whole Creek nation had such sacred relics. Similar accounts of these plates were obtained from four other British traders, ‘at the most eminent trading-house of all English America.’ The town of Tookabatcha became, in later times, the capital of the Creek nation ; and many reliable citizens of Alabama have seen these mysterious pieces at the Green Corn Dances, upon

* History of Alabama, pp. 84-87.

which occasions they were used precisely as in the more ancient days.* When the inhabitants of this town, in the autumn of 1836, took up the line of march for their present home in the Arkansas Territory, these plates were transported thence by six Indians, remarkable for their sobriety and moral character, at the head of whom was the Chief, Spoke-oak, Micco. Medicine, made expressly for their safe transportation, was carried along by these warriors. Each one had a plate strapped behind his back, enveloped nicely in buckskin. They carried nothing else, but marched on, one before the other, the whole distance to Arkansas, neither communicating nor conversing with a soul but themselves, although several thousands were emigrating in company; and walking, with a solemn, religious air, one mile in advance of the others.† How much their march resembled that of the ancient Trojans, bearing off their household gods! Another tradition is, that the Shawnees gave these plates to the Tookabatchas, as tokens of their friendship, with an injunction that they would annually introduce them in their religious observance of the new corn season. But the opinion of Opothleoholo, one of the most gifted Chiefs of the modern Creeks, went to corroborate the general tradition that they were gifts from the Great Spirit.‡ It will be recollected that our aborigines, in the time of De Soto, understood the use of copper, and that hatchets and ornaments were made of that metal. The ancient Indians may have made them, and engraved upon their face hieroglyphics, which were supposed, from the glance only permitted to be given them, to be Roman characters. An intelligent New Englander, named Barent Dubois, who had long lived among the Tookabatchas, believed that these plates originally formed some portion of the armor or musical instruments of De Soto, and that the Indians stole them, as they did the shields, in the Talladega country, and hence he accounts for the Roman letters on them. We give no opinion, but leave the reader to determine for himself—having discharged our duty by placing all the available evidence before him.”

* “Conversations with Barent Dubois, Abraham Mordecai, James Moore, Capt. William Walker, Lacklan Durant, Mrs. Sophia McComb, and other persons, who stated that these plates had Roman characters upon them, as well as they could determine from the rapid glances which they could occasionally bestow upon them, while they were being used in the ‘brass plate dance.’”

† “Conversations with Barent Dubois.”

‡ “Conversations with Opothleoholo in 1833.”

There can be no good reason for doubting the general correctness of this account. That plates substantially of the character indicated were in possession of the Tukabachi, and were highly esteemed by them, appears to be too well attested for the statement to be rejected as a fiction. Moreover, the fact that the Tukabachi until very recently had such plates, has been positively ascertained by special inquiry. Whether the plates had Roman letters on them is doubtful, as our informants were not allowed to inspect them. The form of the copper plates, as given by Adair,* if reversed, bears some resemblance to one of the plates from the Etowah mound shown in Fig. 4, though from the rudeness of the figure this fact is of little value. The form indicates that they were intended to be borne aloft as standards or objects of adoration, though it is asserted in the account that they were carried under the arms of the bearers. It is stated that one of the copper plates was a foot and a half long and seven inches wide, the other four being a little shorter and narrower. These dimensions are mere estimates, and the figure was probably drawn wholly from memory; still the close agreement in size with the Etowah plates is worthy of notice.

The simple fact that figured copper plates of an unusual character, bearing some resemblance to those from the Etowah mound, were for a long time in possession of Indians residing at no great distance therefrom is important in the present discussion, as it is an indication of some relation between the builders of those mounds and the Indians. But there are other statements in the account that are somewhat remarkable when examined in the light of the mound revelations.

"The Tookabatchas brought with them to the Tallapoosa some curious brass plates," etc. From whence? Pickett says, on page 83 of his work, quoting from Milfort: "The Tookabatchas, who had nearly been destroyed by the Iroquois and Hurons, wandered from the Ohio country, and obtained permission from the Muscogees to form a part of their nation." Among the traditions relating to the origin of these plates is one—given in the preceding quotation—that they were given to the Tukabachi by the Shawnees "as tokens of their friendship, with an injunction that they would annually introduce them in their religious observance of the new corn season." It was here "the Shawano leader, Tecumseh, held

* Hist. Am. Indians, p. 179.

his exciting orations against the United States Government, which prompted the Upper Creeks to rise in arms (1813).''*

Is it possible that these fragments of information gathered from such widely different sources should fit together so exactly and yet have no relation to each other? Here is a people, apparently a foreign element, incorporated into the Creek confederacy, the very name being foreign to the Creek language. According to their own tradition, they came from the north, toward the Ohio, on which line of migration the chief home of the Shawnees lay; they possessed singular metallic plates which, according to one of their traditions, were given to them by this people. It is here also that Tecumseh, a Shawnee, comes in order to arouse the Creeks against the United States. Not far distant we find in a mound similar plates buried in stone graves of the form in which the Shawnees were accustomed to bury. In addition to all this we have the statement of the Indian, Old Bracket, in the account given by Adair, that there were other plates of similar character which had been buried with particular men. It is true that Schoolcraft† says these plates were found in the earth when the Indians first dug for clay to build in this place, but this statement appears to be without authority. Moreover, it is improbable that they dug into mounds or graves—the only places we can suppose the plates would have been buried—for clay with which to build. Are we not justified, therefore, in assuming that these Tukabachi plates came from the Shawnee? This assumption accords with the conclusion in regard to the other plates of similar character found in mounds and graves, and harmonizes the historical, traditional, and archæological testimony. This supposition, it is true, seemingly enshrouds the subject in deeper mystery; but we should not hesitate on this account, as it behooves us to follow whithersoever our evidence leads. To assume that the Shawnees, a central nation, shut in from the ocean, gulf, lakes, and great water highways, and completely encircled by hostile tribes, were the only people possessing, or through whom should come, these copper plates, which are admitted to be of foreign origin, is seemingly hazardous and unwarrantable. But the very fact of the interior position of the Shawnees affords a key that may possibly unlock the mystery.

* Gatschet, *Creek Legend*, I, 147.

† *Indian Tribes*, V, 283, 1855.

If these plates were of foreign origin and were in possession of the Shawnees only, they must have been introduced among them by foreigners who penetrated to their country without disposing of any of them while passing through other tribes. If so, there must have been some special reason for this. Soon after the return of the remnant of De Soto's followers the eyes of the Spaniards in Mexico and the West Indies were turned toward the gold mines of "Coza" (northern Georgia). Not only were expeditions fitted out to seek this new El Dorado, but even shipwrecked mariners, as we are informed both by Barcia and Hakluyt, endeavored to make their way thither, the routes of all pointing to the same locality—the northern part of Georgia. It is presumable from this fact that information was communicated by the survivors of De Soto's expedition which is not given in the printed narratives.

As the evidence bearing on the early mining operations of the Spaniards in northern Georgia has been summarized by Col. C. C. Jones,* it is given here, his historical references having first been verified :

"In this connection, it is proper to allude to the traces of early mining in Cherokee Georgia.

"In 1834, Colonels Merriwether and Lumsden, while engaged in digging a canal in Duke's-Creek Valley [White County] for the purpose of facilitating their mining operations, unearthed a subterranean village consisting of thirty-four small cabins, located in a straight line extending upward of three hundred feet. They were made of logs hewn at the ends and notched down, after the fashion of the rude log-huts of the present day. This hewing and notching had evidently been done with sharp metallic tools, the marks being such as would have been caused by a chopping axe. Above these little houses—situated from fifty to one hundred yards from the principal channel of the creek, and embedded from seven to nine feet below the surface of the ground—trees were growing from two to three feet in diameter. The estimated age of these trees was somewhat over two hundred years. The violent changes often caused, in their narrow valleys and along their yielding banks, by mountain-streams swollen with rain or engorged by the dissolving snows of winter, may account for the inhumation of these cabins within a comparatively short period after their abandonment.

* *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, pp. 48-52.

“In Valley-River Valley, the writer is informed [by a manuscript letter from Dr. Stephenson, author of “Geology and Mineralogy of Georgia ”], eleven old shafts have been found, varying in depth from ninety to one hundred feet. In 1854, one of them was cleaned out, and at the depth of ninety feet the workman found a windlass of post-oak, well hewn, with an inch auger-hole bored through each end. Distinct traces appeared where it had been banded with iron. The crank and gudgeon-holes were still in excellent preservation. Another shaft, for twenty-five feet, passed through gneiss-rock. Its sides were scarred by the marks of the sharp tools used in forcing a passage through this hard substance. There were no signs of blasting. Below the water-level the casing-boards and timbers were sound, although discolored by the sulphurets of copper and iron.

“Six miles southeast of this locality are five other shafts similar in age and construction. The trees growing in the mouths and upon the edges of these abandoned pits were not less than two hundred years old.

“The presence of iron and the marks of sharp metallic tools prove that these ancient mining operations cannot be referred to the labors of the Indians. The narratives of the career of De Soto are filled with accounts furnished by the natives of the presence of gold in certain designated localities, and their exaggerated statements continually inflamed the cupidity of the adventurers who accompanied the adelantado on his wild march from Puerto del Espíritu Santo to the broad prairies beyond the Mississippi. In plate *XL* of the ‘*Brevis Narratio*’ De Bry presents an extravagant and evidently imaginary illustration of the manner in which the natives gathered gold in the streams issuing from the Apalatchy Mountains. These gold and silver-bearing mountains—if we rightly interpret the confused map accompanying the work to which we have just alluded—were situated somewhere in or near the northeastern part of Georgia. There is every reason to believe that De Soto passed through Nacoochee Valley and thence pursued his wanderings by way of the Oostenaula or Etowah Valley to their confluence. There stood the ancient village of Chiaha, and there now stands the beautiful town of Rome.

“While lingering among the mountains and valleys of North Carolina and Georgia, earnest and repeated inquiries were made by the Spanish adventurer respecting the existence of precious metals in that region. Parties were dispatched by him to examine the country and ascertain the precise places where the Indians were said to be

engaged in mining. While it does not appear from any of the narratives that De Soto and his followers actually undertook any mining operations—other than perhaps a limited examination of the surface of the ground—or that they had with them tools and mechanical appliances which would have enabled them to have penetrated the bowels of the hills and utilized the ores which they contained, it is quite evident that they recognized this as an auriferous region and were greatly disappointed at their failure to secure a considerable quantity of the coveted treasure.

“The question still recurs, Who sunk these shafts, and, in that early day, expended so much labor in earnest quest for gold? Dr. Brinton, in an article published in the *Historical Magazine* [1st ser., vol. x, p. 137], has collected some authorities which suggest a probable response to the inquiry.

“So carried away was Luis de Velasco with the representations made by the returned soldiers of De Soto’s Expedition, with regard to the gold, silver, and pearls abounding in the province of ‘Cosa,’ that he dispatched his general, Tristan de Luna, to open communication with Cosa by the way of Pensacola Bay. Three hundred Spanish soldiers of this expedition penetrated quite to the valley of the Coosa, in northern Georgia, and there passed the summer of 1560. Juan Pardo was subsequently sent by Aviles—the first Governor of Florida—to establish a fort at the foot of the mountains northwest of St. Augustine, in the province of the chief Coabá. It would seem, therefore, that the Spaniards both knew and endeavored, at this early period, to avail themselves of the gold deposits in Upper Georgia. The German traveller, Johannes Lederer, who visited North Carolina and Virginia in 1669 and 1670, and wrote an account of his adventures in Latin, asserts that the Spaniards were then working gold and silver mines in the Appalachian Mountains. He avers that he saw specimens of the ore among the Western tribes, and brought samples of it back with him. ‘Had I had with me,’ he adds, ‘half a score of resolute youths who would have stuck to me, I would have pushed on to the Spanish mines.’

“In 1690, while making a journey over the ‘Apalathean Mountains’ for inland discovery and trade with the natives, Mr. James Moore was informed by the Indians that the Spaniards were at work upon mines within twenty miles of the place where he then was. The Indians described to him the bellows and furnaces used by these miners, and offered to conduct him to the spot. A difference be-

tween himself and his guides, however, prevented his visiting these mines."

It is apparent from this evidence that soon after the return of the remnant of De Soto's expedition to Mexico the Spaniards made their way to northern Georgia, a region then known as Coosa or Coza, and commenced mining for gold. As it is now known that gold mines are in this region, it is evident that De Soto's expedition had discovered this fact. The question therefore arises, Why is this fact not mentioned by the chroniclers of this expedition? This is easily explained by bearing in mind that all works intended for publication had first to be submitted to censors, who took care to expunge all reference to mines of the precious metals. The Spanish authorities, as we are informed by one of the Spaniards taken captive by Drake in Florida, who was endeavoring to reach these mines, even prohibited independent adventurers from visiting the mines discovered.

It is certain that Luis de Velasco would not have sent Tristan de Luna in search of them except for the information furnished by the returned soldiers of De Soto's expedition, since the existence of gold in the region designated could have been learned through no other source. That the adventurers in quest of gold took with them articles to placate the natives may be assumed, as this was a common custom.

The Etowah mounds, which are supposed to mark the site of Guaxule, are in the same region as the mines, and here, in all probability, was the chief town of the tribe or clan whose territory included some, at least, of the mines, and here, too, was the residence of their cacique or chief. It was of the utmost importance, therefore, that the Spaniards should gain the good will and friendship of this chief and his tribe. As it is a trait of Indian character to take great pride in the possession of that which is rare, we can readily understand why the Spaniards should bring to this particular region articles not given or traded to other Indians. If the people of this village were Shawnees, as the stone graves indicate, we have in what has been stated at least a reasonable explanation of the presence of the plates among this people.

The thread followed is indeed a slender one, but it appears to be unbroken, and seems to justify the conclusion reached. Nevertheless there is another possible solution of the problem, to wit, that these copper plates were taken from De Soto's expedition. The

strongest advocate of this theory is Thomas S. Woodward.* According to this author, who claims to have obtained his information through Indian tradition, these Tukabachi plates were taken from the Spaniards, who "used them as a kind of shield to protect themselves from the arrows of the Indians."

It is scarcely probable that Spaniards would have covered their shields with figures of heathen gods. As it is stated by the author that a Spanish "swivel" and other plates were found on the Tallapoosa and worked up by a half-breed smith, it is more probable they were left by subsequent Spanish traders or adventurers, possibly by Tristan de Luna's band, as his expedition moved northward from Pensacola Bay. At first I was disposed to adopt this theory, but an examination of the data disclosed what I believe to be insuperable objections which cannot, for want of space, be given here. Singularly enough Mr. Thruston,† while attributing these strangely figured copper plates to the mound-builders of Georgia and the Mississippi Valley, whom he distinguishes from the Indians known to history, believes certain copper objects found in a stone grave in a mound in Wayne county, Tennessee, to be relics of the Adelantado's expedition; yet in the same grave was the shell gorget with four bird-heads shown in our figure 7. Mr. Thruston further states that but half a mile distant "there was a large artificial mound of the typical middle Tennessee form." This relation of a typical mound of the stone-grave people and a gorget bearing figures peculiar in the mound region to the works of this people with relics of De Soto's expedition seems to be without any possible explanation upon his theory of the authors of the stone graves of Tennessee. On the other hand, when we add that the gorget and copper relics were found in a stone grave within the Shawnee range, the explanation is easy on the general theory advanced in this paper.

Mr. Thruston remarks at another point, speaking of the Etowah figured plates: "The spirited figures upon the large plates at once suggest that the art represented is of Mexican or Central American origin; yet we do not find that they are duplicated in the ancient codices of Mexico or upon the tablets of Central America. There are glimpses of typical Mexican art in the general designs, but the details are probably original artistic conceptions that should be

* Reminiscences of the Creek or Muscogee Indians.

† The Antiquities of Tennessee, p. 303.

credited to the advanced race that constructed the great mounds of Georgia and the Mississippi Valley."

This merely shifts the problem from the plates to the designs and fails to furnish an explanation of the presence of these designs—which are admitted to be of Mexican or Central American origin—in the interior of our country, while they do not appear to have been known in those parts of the mound region nearer the countries where they are supposed to have originated.

It is true that no exact duplicates of the entire figures are found in the ancient codices or on the monuments of Mexico or Central America, but the main features of the designs and the ideas expressed therein appear in the art of those countries; but with them are associated other conceptions and details which seem foreign to those countries and furnish strong reasons for suspecting them to have been made after the appearance of Europeans on the continent, though possibly by native artists. Another and all-important fact which is overlooked by Mr. Thruston, and which can be understood only by careful personal inspection, is the evidence that they were made with hard metallic implements.

The mound testimony, so far obtained, agrees with the historical in pointing to the region of the Cumberland as the chief and permanent seat of power of the Shawnees, but it fails as yet to throw any satisfactory light upon their origin or their migrations preceding their arrival in the Cumberland Valley. Still, there are faint indications upon which an hypothesis may be founded.

The similarity of the works and vestiges of art of the Cumberland Valley to those of southern Illinois, as already shown, southeastern Missouri, and to some extent of northeastern Arkansas, to which attention was first called by Professor Putnam, is too marked, even to minute details, to be simply the result of similar racial traits and like savage condition. The language of Professor Putnam on this subject is as follows.*

"It is sufficient in this place to allude to a few of the more important conclusions to which I am led by these explorations in Tennessee :

"*First.* The people who buried their dead in the singular stone graves in Tennessee were intimately connected with, or were of the same nation as, those whose dead were buried in the mounds and

* Rep. Peabody Museum, vol. II, p. 204.

cemeteries in Missouri, Arkansas and Illinois, and who made the pottery of which such a large amount has been taken from the burial places in those states. This is shown by the similarity of the crania, by the identity in material, patterns, and finish of the pottery, and by the shell carvings, etc."

Mr. Thruston, in his work above alluded to (p. 61), expresses a similar view in the following words:

"No one can compare the pottery from the stone graves of the Cumberland Valley with the vessels dug up at the base of this great mound [Cahokia], and at New Madrid, Missouri, without observing that the majority of them are identical in form and material, and some of the pieces found in the two districts seem to have come from the hands of the same aboriginal potter. The author obtained about four hundred and fifty perfect vessels and images from the ancient cemeteries recently excavated near Nashville. Not less than one-half of them are of the familiar New Madrid and Cahokia pattern, and many of them are almost exact duplicates of the vessels found by Mr. McAdams and others at the base of the great mound, as will be seen from the illustrations in chapters following."

He also expresses the opinion (p. 61) that "the mound-builders of Tennessee probably belonged to the same aboriginal stock as the builders of the great mound at Cahokia, Illinois, the largest in the Mississippi Valley."

That the pottery from the stone graves of middle Tennessee resembles that from the other localities mentioned so closely in material, form, and ornamentation as to be in most cases indistinguishable from it, must be admitted, and that the mounds and village sites of these localities are similar is also true. What do these facts indicate? It is scarcely possible that the works of all these localities are due to the Shawnees. Not only is this rendered doubtful by the extent of the area embraced and the large number of works included, but seems to be forbidden by the entire absence of stone graves from southeastern Missouri and northern Arkansas, and the exceedingly rare occurrence of engraved shells in these sections—in fact, their entire absence from northern Arkansas. The explanation is therefore limited to the conclusion which seems justified by the data, that the Shawnees dwelt in former times on the Mississippi in the region of southern Illinois, and about the mouth of the Missouri river, where they came in contact with southern mound-builders and adopted from them the habit of building

mounds and manufacturing the type of pottery mentioned. It is possible they may have reared the great Cahokia mound, though I think this improbable, it being far more likely that here was located a large village of southern mound-builders who were driven out by the Shawnees when the latter appeared upon the scene. This leads to the question: From what quarter or at what point did this tribe enter the area outlined above as having been occupied by them?

Before presenting a theory in regard to this question, it is important that brief reference be made to some facts in the history of the tribe.

As Parkman has observed, this tribe presents one of the most puzzling problems of our early history. But there is one fact apparently not properly appreciated which should dispel much of the mystery of its movements and correct the idea entertained in regard to its nomadic character.

If we bear in mind the central position of the Shawnees, the region of Kentucky and middle Tennessee, it can readily be understood why notices of them appear in the records of early days in so many different quarters. The French, moving west along the line of the lakes and south along the Illinois and Mississippi, hear of them by contact with wandering parties or through intermediate tribes. And the same is true in regard to travelers and early settlers east and south. Information concerning them at so many widely different points has naturally suggested the opinion that they were true nomads. Another reason for this opinion is the fact that about the time they became generally known to the colonists, they were attacked and broken into scattering bands by other tribes.

Theories in regard to the early home of the tribe have been advanced which, in view of more recent light, have been generally discarded as untenable.

One of these theories is that they are to be identified with the Massawomekes of Captain John Smith's "History of Virginia," whom he states he encountered at the head of Chesapeake Bay. In order to sustain this theory it is assumed that the Massawomekes of Smith are identical with the Eries or Cat Nation of the French, mentioned by the early writers and explorers as dwelling immediately south of Lake Erie. As it is now conceded that this nation was linguistically related to the Iroquois, while the Shawnees belong to the Algonquian stock, this theory seems to be without sufficient basis.

Another theory is that which derives the tribe from western Florida, based upon a tradition given by Chief Black Hoof and recorded by Mr. John Johnston.* But this tradition evidently refers to some event or movement of comparatively modern date, as it states that "it is a prevailing opinion among them that Florida had been inhabited by white people, who had the use of iron tools," as "stumps of trees covered with earth were frequently found which had been cut down by edged tools." Woodward asserts again and again that some of the Shawnees formerly resided on the lower Savannah, a statement which is corroborated by other evidence. It is quite probable that this band is the one that removed to Pennsylvania.

The linguistic relation of the tribe to the Algonquian stock too decidedly negatives this theory to entitle it to any weight in the question of its derivation, unless we conclude with some authors that this stock came from the South. As "Florida" was formerly a general term for the area now embracing the Gulf States east of the Mississippi, it is more probable that this tradition, if based on any real event in the history of the tribe, refers to its extension southeastward into the region of the Savannah River. This appears also to have been Mr. Gallatin's view, as he remarks: † "We know from Mr. Johnston, the Indian agent, that a body of them, who had originally lived north of the Ohio, had, at some anterior time and from causes not explained, migrated as far south as the Suwanee River, which empties into the Gulf of Mexico and is supposed to derive its name from them; and that they returned thence, about the year 1755, to the vicinity of Sandusky, under the conduct of a chief called Black Hoof."

If the name "Suwanee" be changed to Savannah the statement becomes reasonable. Moreover, it agrees substantially with the statement heretofore given in regard to removal of a discontented band from Kentucky to the Cherokee country. The evidence of the presence of white men in this southern section mentioned by Black Hoof is very interesting, as it indicates the presence of the Spaniards in early times in northern Georgia, in the gold-mine region, and agrees in this respect with other data we have presented.

* *Archæologia Americana*, vol. I, p. 273.

† "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes," in *Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, II, 67, 1836.

The history of the tribe previous to La Salle's arrival in the Illinois country consists of but few incidental and somewhat uncertain mentions. When they applied to this explorer for French protection he replied that they were too remote. According to Marquette they were then seated chiefly on one of the branches of the Ohio, doubtless the Cumberland. Their position had not until this time brought them to the acquaintance of the whites, which fact, in the absence of other indications to guide us, would place them somewhere in the region of the present Kentucky, since there only could they have been removed from the lines of early travel and settlement.

There are reasons for believing that the residence of this people in Ohio in historic times was not their first appearance north of the Ohio river; a belief which seems to be entertained by Judge C. C. Baldwin, and, as I learn from personal communication, by Mr. Lucien Carr, both of whom have given the historical side of the question a somewhat careful examination.

When in 1669 Abbe Gallinée requested of the Senecas a prisoner from the Ohio to guide La Salle on his intended journey to that river, the people living there, according to their statement, were called Toagenha. The Indians, in order to dissuade the French from their intended journey, told them the Toagenha were bad people, who would treacherously attack them at night, and that they would also run the risk before reaching them of meeting the Ontastois. As the latter tribe was, beyond doubt, the Andastes, there are good reasons for believing that the former were Shawnees. Marshall, in his "La Salle and the Senecas," adds that the Toagenha were "a people speaking a corrupt Algonkin."

As bearing upon the question, it may be added that, according to Shea, the Wyandots called the Shawnees Ontonagannha. In 1675 Garacontie, an Onondaga chief, told his people to live in peace with the French and turn their arms against the distant Ontwogannha.*

There is, however, in the Relation of Abbe Gallinée (1669-70), as given by Margry,† another statement which refers beyond doubt to the Shawnees and indicates the locality of a part of the tribe at that time. Speaking of the commencement of his journey to the

* Shea, *Catholic Missions*, 1855.

† *Découvertes*, Pt. I, 116, 1875.

southwest and the reason for it, he remarks: "Our fleet consisted of seven canoes, each manned by three men, which departed from Montreal the 6th day of July, 1669, under the guidance of two canoes of Iroquois Sonnontoueronons [Senecas], who had come to Montreal in the autumn of the year 1668 to do their hunting and trading. These people had lived here quite a long while with M. de la Salle, and had told him so many marvelous things concerning "the Ohio River, which they claimed to be perfectly acquainted with, that they excited in him more than ever the desire to visit it. They told him that this river had its source at three days' journey from Sonnontouan, and that after a month's travel he would reach the Honniasóntkeronons [probably Andastes] and the Chiouanons [Shawnees], and that after having passed these and a great waterfall, which there was in the river, he would find the Outagame and the country of the Iskousogos [probably Chickasaws], and finally a country so abounding in deer and wild cattle that they were as thick as the woods, and such great numbers of people that there could be no more."

Notwithstanding some extravagant statements in the Indians' description, it is apparent that they had a tolerably correct knowledge of the Ohio River, and presumably, of the people found along it, at least as far down as the falls. It is evident, therefore, that some of the Shawnees were at that time located along this stream, though it is probable, as appears from subsequent explorations, that the large body resided then in the Cumberland Valley, with, perhaps, some outlying villages on the sources of the Tennessee River in western Virginia.

There is, however, a still earlier notice of the tribe which seems to have been overlooked by writers on this subject. This is found in the *Walam Olum*, or *Bark Record*, as given by Dr. Brinton in "The Lenâpé and their Legends." In part 5, verses 45 and 46 (p. 213), it is stated that:

White-Horn was chief; he went to the Talega,
To the Hilini, to the Shawnees, to the Kanawhas.

This would seem to place them between the Illinois tribes and the Kanawhas, probably on the Ohio River. Be this as it may, by turning to verses 9 and 10 of the same part of the record we read that:

Little-Cloud was chief; many departed,
The Nanticokes and the Shawnees going to the south.

If the record was made with any reference to chronological sequence, we must conclude that the movement referred to in these lines took place while the Lenâpé were yet west of the Alleghany Mountains, as it is stated in verses 1 and 2, same part, that :

All were peaceful, long ago, there at the Talega land.
The Pipe-Bearer was chief at the White River.

Dr. Brinton thinks this was White River, Indiana, or the Wabash. It is also to be noted that the first reference to the eastern land is found farther on, in verse 21 :

A great land and a wide land was the east land.

This association of the Nanticokes with the Shawnees, when the former were found at the advent of the whites around the head of Chesapeake Bay, complicates the problem ; nevertheless the fact that the tradition associates the latter with the Lenâpé while west of the mountains, somewhere in the area now embraced in Ohio and Indiana, is an important item in this discussion.

Conclusions.—Summing up the evidence which has been presented, it leads to the following conclusions :

1st. That mound *C* of the Etowah, or Tumlin group, was built by people who were accustomed to bury their dead in box-shaped stone cists.

2nd. That the people south of the Ohio River, who buried in stone graves or cists of this type, were also mound-builders and manufactured pottery similar to that found in the mounds of southern Illinois and southeastern Missouri.

3d. That the people who buried in those stone graves south of the Ohio River were Shawnees.

4th. That, judging by the mound testimony and the distribution and contents of the stone graves, the movements of this tribe before the historic era were along an irregular belt extending from the eastern border of Missouri, through southern Illinois, middle and western Kentucky, middle Tennessee, and northern Georgia to the head-waters of the Savannah River.

5th. That we are justified in assuming that this tribe, or a portion of it, resided for a time north of the Ohio River, anterior to their migration thither in the historic era.

Assuming those points to be sufficiently established to form a basis for further steps, we turn now to the linguistic evidence and ethnic

relations of the tribe for light upon its past history, to consider them in connection with the mound testimony and traditionary evidence presented.

As already stated, the people of this tribe are connected linguistically with the Algonquian family; hence in attempting to trace them to their origin we must look to the early home of this family.

When the members of this extensive stock first became known to the whites they were scattered over an immense area extending along the Atlantic coast from Labrador to the Neuse River in North Carolina, and westward to and beyond the Mississippi, with outlying representatives stretching from the west shore of Hudson Bay to the skirts of the Rocky Mountains. In Labrador they were neighbors to the Eskimos; in the northwest the Crees dwelt along the southern and western shores of Hudson Bay and upon the streams which flow into it from the west, bordering the closely allied Chipeways, who occupied the watershed of Lake Superior. The Blackfeet, Gros Ventres, and Cheyennes carried the western border to the base of the Rocky Mountains; while scattered over the prairies of Illinois and Indiana and in the region of the lakes were the Pottawatomies, Miamis, Ottawas, Illini, Piankishaws, etc. Southward, in the valleys of the Cumberland and on the head-waters of the Tennessee, in Virginia, were the Shawnees. Along the Atlantic were the Micmacs in Nova Scotia, the Abnakis in Maine, the Pequots and Narragansetts in New England; on the Hudson were the Mohegans; along the Delaware, the Lenâpé; around Chesapeake Bay, the Nanticokes, and south of the Potomac, the Powhatans.

The geographical position of this family indicates a northern origin, and this conclusion appears to be confirmed by the traditions of some of the tribes, which indicate a migration from the north to the south side of the lakes, as that of the Lenni-Lenâpé and of the Chipeways. A legend common to several of the western tribes, as the Kickapoos, Sacs, Foxes, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies, locates their original home north of the St. Lawrence. Nevertheless, it is maintained by some authorities, as Dr. J. W. Dawson and the late Dr. Alexander Winchell, that they came from the south, entering the territory of the United States through the peninsula of Florida.

This theory of a general movement from the south appears to have been previously advanced by Schoolcraft;* but, as will be seen, he does not seem to have held that they were of southern origin.

* Indian Tribes, V, 39, 1855.

He briefly sketches the movement about as follows: Moving from the south by the shores of the Atlantic until "arrested by the great estuary of the St. Lawrence," they turned westward from this point up the St. Lawrence River, along the north side; "avoiding Hochelega and its southern environs, possessed by the Iroquois, they ascended the Outawas branch to Lakes Nepising and Huron." From there they "passed through the straits of St. Mary's to Lake Superior," whence they proceeded west to the sources of the Mississippi and northwest as far as the shores of Lake Winnipeg and until they encountered the Athapascan stock. A portion turning here proceeded southward 'up the Red River of the North and rejoined the tribes which had passed from Lakes Huron and Michigan to the sources of the Mississippi. Moving eastward, they crossed the Mississippi into northern Wisconsin, proceeding to the shores of Lake Michigan. "Thence they spread south down the Illinois, down to Peoria and Kaskaskia and the mouth of the Ohio." Thus, as the author concludes, "the Algonquin tribes are perceived to have revolved in an irregular circle or ellipsis of some three thousand miles diameter, returning at last, to complete the circle, to the Mississippi Valley." As he states immediately following that "they are first heard of, in early ante-historical periods, by Lenâpé traditions, crossing the Mississippi from the west," it would seem that he looked to the west, or probably the southwest, as the section from which the family entered its historical seats. His belief, however, that the Lenâpés refer in their tradition to the Mississippi has had much to do in shaping his opinion; and his theory of the circular route appears to have been formulated to agree with this belief, and at the same time to coincide with the tradition of the Chipeways and other tribes south of Lake Superior, that they had crossed over from the east side of Lake Huron.

Mr. Horatio Hale, in his paper on "Indian Migrations," states that the traditions of the Algonkins seem to point to the region of Hudson Bay and the coast of Labrador as their pristine seat. It should be borne in mind, however, that this author is of the opinion that the course of migration of the Indian tribes has been from the Atlantic coast westward and southward, apparently placing the initial point in the region about the bay of St. Lawrence. It is apparent that this view arises from his opinion that at least a part of the Indians originated from the Basques or Euscarians, who, he believes, at a very distant date had made their way across the

Atlantic to the fishing areas about Newfoundland. Dr. Brinton is also inclined to look to the lower St. Lawrence as the 'early home of the family, notwithstanding his expressed opinion that the tradition of the Lenni Lenâpé refers to movements of the tribe in Indiana and Ohio. On the other hand, Morgan, and probably a majority of authors and students, look to the west or northwest as the section from which the family made its way into the area it was found occupying when discovered by the whites.

Judge C. C. Baldwin, who has made a careful study of the Indian migrations and movements in Ohio, remarks in his paper* on this subject as follows: "They [the Shawnees] were Algonkin, but their language had varied much from the Delawares or Miamis. In the belt of the Algonkins, extending from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, below the lakes, they occupied a position between the two. Within the period of history, they pushed into Ohio from Kentucky, and the Cumberland River is called, in the early French maps, the river of the ancient Shawnees. That was not the first time they had been on the Ohio. After the destruction of the Eries, they seem to have been next south upon that river, and I cannot but believe that while the Eries were at peace, the Shawnees lived next south, probably in Southern Ohio and Kentucky. The dividing ridge between the lake and river was a not unnatural boundary, and perhaps was the line in most of the State until the Eries were forced inland and, no doubt, pushed down the Ohio. A manuscript map of Joliet, dated 1674, represents the Upper Ohio as divided into two parallel branches, and below the southerly is written 'Pays Kentayentonga.' That was an Erie town.

* * * * *

"We find, then, about 1640 the Eries ranged in Ohio from near the east end of Lake Erie to near the west, and held the country back and part of the Ohio River. That everywhere west were Algonquins, probably the Miamis and Ottawas pressing upon them. That below them on the Ohio, were the Shawnees, and south-east of them and their kindred [?], the Andastes, were the Algonquin nations.

"In the known history of the Iroquois we are not without some further light. In 1609, when first known, they were in Central New York, and the confederation was formed. By clear tradition they

* Early Indian Migration in Ohio, Tract 47, West. Res. and No. Ohio Hist. Soc., p. 87, *et seq.*

had resided around the St. Lawrence at Montreal.* It was evident that for many years they had occupied their then home. Mr. Morgan, in his Iroquois, places it since 1500, in a later article in *N. A. Review*, since 1450 at least. The Hurons, Neutrals, Iroquois, Eries, and Andastes lay so compactly together in the Algonquin sea, around them, that their history evidently had much in common. It is safe to assume that all the southern of these tribes emigrated from the north. Central New York must have been very attractive to fishermen and hunters. The league was formed after the migration. It appears, then, with some clearness, that the Eries emigrated from the north-east to the region of Ohio and had likely occupied northern Ohio at least 150 years; no one can tell how much longer. By tradition, the Iroquois in this movement warred with the Algonquins, no doubt all they touched, and probably the Delawares, Shawnees and possibly the Miamis. The Tuscaroras very probably became separated in this struggle.

“The location of tribes, tradition and language all point to an earlier emigration of the Huron Iroquois family from the west, and we think Mr. Morgan has well established its line as north of Lake Erie.† It is well-established also that the Algonquins came from the north-west, and Mr. Morgan thinks both branches of Indians went north of Lake Erie as the more natural highway. That seems probable of the Delawares; the Alleghanies were a natural barrier. We would suggest, however, that there may have been emigrations south as well as north, either by the lake shore and portages or down the Mississippi and up the Ohio. Evidences of both are found in the movements of the north-west tribes and the traditional history of tribes upon the Ohio. The Shawnee language was quite corrupted and the Delaware and Miami were much more alike than either like the Shawnee. We submit that this similarity had a cause in past history, and the Delawares, Miami and Illinois were nearer akin than either to the Shawnee, that the Shawnee emigration was different. The Iroquois pushed upon the Algonquins of the north emigration, who went in all directions, some south-east of the Alleghanies and some to the south-east from west of Lake Erie. Were not the Shawnees an earlier migration made to the south of the lakes? Their language showed early intercourse with other tribes, their

* See on this point “The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times.”

† Ibid.

tradition was that they migrated with the Foxes and Kicapooos, that they turned to the south, the others to the west. * * *

"The Shawnees and Cherokees seem to have been the foremost in the great Indian migrations which met the Mound-builders." *

Although there are some passages and some assumptions in the foregoing extract from Judge Baldwin's paper with which we cannot acquiesce, yet the general views advanced in regard to the early Indian migrations in and about Ohio appear to agree very well with the traditional and archæologic data, and, as will be seen, more nearly accord with the conclusions reached by our independent line of study than any other theory presented.

It is to be noticed, however, that in the different conclusions mentioned the testimony of the mounds has been ignored or allowed to have little or no bearing on the discussion.

Hellwald has, in fact, asserted in his paper on "The American Migration" that "the wide region east of the ranges of the great Rocky and Cascade Mountains and west of the Alleghanies, traversed by the mighty waters of the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, and their tributaries—this region, the proper home of the mound-builders, preserves no trace whatever of an immigration or emigration."

It is true that the works of the mound-builders afford but little evidence on which to base a theory in regard to the lines along which the authors of these works first entered the mound section. There are, however, on the other hand, decided indications of movements within the mound area. Some of these movements, besides those alluded to in this paper, have been mentioned in a previous work, † and are referred to further on.

As the assumption of a southern origin of the family seems to be purely theoretical, dependent upon views regarding the more gen-

* In his work on Fort Ancient, Mr. W. K. Moorehead undertakes to prove that the stone graves about that ancient work could not have been built by the Shawnees. This conclusion is reached as follows: He finds standing on one of these graves a tree aged (estimated) 274 years, and as the Shawnees did not come into Ohio before 1710, ergo a Shawnee Indian could not have been buried in that grave. It is only necessary to remark, in reply to this, that our young friend seems to be unaware of the strong evidence that Indians of this tribe lived in Ohio long before the first white man made his way to the shores of Lake Erie.

† The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times.

eral migrations, and appears to be generally discarded by those students working in more limited and special fields, a discussion of the theory here is unnecessary. This limits us to the consideration of two opposing theories, one of which looks to the west and the other to the east for the original home of the family.

It is generally supposed, as stated by Dr. Brinton, that the language of the Crees, whose habitat is around the western side of Hudson Bay, is "the nearest representative we possess of the pristine Algonkin tongue;" and, as he correctly adds, "unless strong grounds to the contrary are advanced, it is proper to assume that the purest dialect is found nearest the primeval home of the stock."

Nevertheless, after giving the Lenâpé tradition, and again admitting that these facts point to a migration in prehistoric times from the west towards the east, he insists, as does Hale, that there are indications of a yet older movement from the northeast, westward and southward to the upper Mississippi Valley. This conclusion appears to be based upon the tradition of the western tribes, first obtained in 1819, that their original home was north of the St. Lawrence River, near or below where Montreal now stands.

Although disposed generally to assent to the conclusions of these authorities on subjects of this kind, I cannot but think that on this point they have allowed the weaker evidences, possibly under the influence of some more comprehensive theory, to outweigh the stronger. That the western Algonquian tribes in the region of the upper Mississippi should have a tradition referring to a more eastern home is but natural, as will be seen by what follows; but such a tradition by no means necessarily conflicts with the linguistic evidence of a western origin.

As Mr. Hale has successfully argued, the great river which the Lenâpé crossed in their migration was not the Mississippi, but the upper St. Lawrence, probably the Detroit River; or, in other words, their entry into the Ohio region was from the north side of the lakes and not from the west side of the Mississippi. It is somewhat remarkable, considering his conclusion that the original home of the family was in the east, that, in explanation of the language of the tradition, he should remark: "Of course, in coming to the Detroit River from the region north of Lake Superior, the Algonquins would be advancing from west to east." Yet, as all are aware, at this crossing point they were in fact moving west. The same is true of other tribes, as the Chipeways, Sacs, Foxes, etc., which,

bending from the stream moving eastward north of the lakes, turned westward and crossed to the southern side, in the region of Mackinac and Sault de Ste. Marie. As the evidence seems to be pretty clear that some at least of these western tribes entered the region south of the lakes at the points indicated, it is more than probable that the tradition referred to relates to this reverse movement. Fixing the locality about Montreal, as all who have studied aboriginal traditions know, is of little force unless supported by some corroborative evidence. Moreover, the fact that the tradition does not appear to have become known until 1819, when Montreal was an important point in the geography of the lake region Indians, weakens this portion of it. It should also be remembered that the rising power of the Iroquois and European colonization in the east in the early part of the seventeenth century caused a backward pressure of the tribes, one pushing another westward. It is possible, therefore, as Morgan suggests, that the traditions refer to this movement.

The assumption that branches of the migrating stream, moving eastward, bent southward and turned westward is no more improbable than the assumption necessary on the theory of an eastern origin. This will necessitate the hypothesis that the Lenâpé or Delawares, after having pushed westward into Ohio, where it is generally admitted their tradition carries them, and after they had conquered their foes—the Tallegwi—turned eastward and crossed the mountains to the valley of the Delaware.

As the conclusion reached in regard to the line of migration of the Lenni Lenâpé is one of vital moment in this discussion, some further suggestions upon it are offered.

It may be argued that the Walam Olum tradition relates to a crossing, not at the Detroit River or any point farther west, but at Niagara River or the St. Lawrence immediately below Lake Ontario, the scene of conflict with the Tallegwi being in what is now New York State. The positions of the three divisions of the Delaware tribe when first known to the whites would perhaps favor this view; but, on the other hand, there appear to be insuperable difficulties in the way of this theory if the tradition is presumed to have any basis of fact.

That the Tallegwi were located in Ohio, or at least to the northwest of the Ohio River, at the time they came in contact with the Lenni-Lenâpé or Delawares, is generally conceded; at least no writer, so far as I am aware, places them farther east at this time. It is true

that Dr. Brinton, in his notes on the *Walam Olum** (canto IV, verses 13, 14), supposes these lines:

The Snake land was at the south, the great Spruce Pine land was toward the shore;

To the east was the Fish land, toward the lakes was the Buffalo land.

—to indicate that the tribe at this time was located in western New York and northern Ohio; but his attempt to trace this migration is evidently much confused, for the date indicated by these verses is previous to the date at which he places them in western Ohio and Indiana.

As it is now generally conceded that the mounds were built by the Indians, the study of these ancient works brings into the discussion a new and important factor, which must be correlated with the other data before a satisfactory conclusion can be reached. The data obtained are not sufficient to outline accurately the different archæological districts of the mound area; nevertheless, enough has been ascertained to indicate the principal lines of migration within this region.

As a general rule these appear to follow an east-and-west direction, crossing the larger streams instead of following their courses. In the extreme south there is a shore-line extending from Louisiana to Florida. Throughout the Gulf States there are clear indications that the movements were east or west across the streams, the line, however, extending west of the Mississippi only south of the Arkansas River. North of the latter river, up to the mouth of the Ohio, the mound-builders of Arkansas seem to have been confined to the west side of the Mississippi—a fact which necessitates a western, northern, or southwestern origin, unless we suppose a passage to the west side of this stream in the region of southern Illinois and southeastern Missouri. Another line is that from eastern Missouri to northern Georgia, heretofore described. Another, that from eastern Iowa to western North Carolina, which is believed to mark the line of migration of the Cherokees. Another, is that along the lakes from the vicinity of Montreal to Lake Michigan. Another, and very marked archæological district, is that lying west of Lake Michigan, which at no point reaches farther east than that lake.

Whatever theory be advanced in regard to the movements of tribes in the past, it must be consistent with the indications furnished by the types of the ancient works. If these works be at-

*The *Lenâpé* and their Legends, p. 191.

tributed to the ancestors of the Indians found inhabiting the country at the time of its discovery by Europeans, it follows from what has been stated that the evidence they furnish is decidedly against the theory that the region of the lower St. Lawrence and Labrador was the initial point from which the dispersion of the various tribes occupying the mound region took place. Either the facts presented must be disputed or some other theory of migration of the mound-building tribes must be adopted, as these facts agree only with a theory which brings these tribes from the west or northwest.

If the idea advocated by some of our linguists be adopted, viz., of very long residence of tribes and people speaking different languages in the areas in which they were discovered (which they believe necessary to account for the differentiation and formation of these dialects), this would but intensify and render more marked the archæologic types. Therefore, on any theory we must give the archæological indications their full weight.

Judging from all the data at hand, that furnished by the prehistoric remains, by language, traditions and history, I am inclined to believe that the Algonquian family entered its earliest historic seats from the region north and northwest of Lake Superior, tribes breaking off from the eastward-moving stream and bending southward and crossing the straits and narrow points between the lakes, to the region lying south of the chain. One of these offshoots was the Shawnee tribe which, possibly with or closely followed by other tribes (the Sacs, Foxes, and Kickapoos), crossed in the vicinity of Mackinaw to the lower Michigan peninsula. Moving southward through the peninsula, they bent their course westward—possibly because of the presence of the Tallegwi in what is now Ohio—the Shawnees proceeding to the region of southern Illinois, the Sacs and Foxes moving round into southern Wisconsin, and the Kickapoos into northern Illinois. In southern Illinois the Shawnees probably came in contact with and drove out a southern tribe which, at that early period, occupied this region and built some or all of the mounds of the Cahokia group. It was here they commenced the practice of building mounds and of making the type of pottery so abundant in this section and middle Tennessee.

Of course this view is presented as theoretical; nevertheless, to my mind, it accords more nearly with all the data we possess than any other which I have been able to formulate.

Copies of this article, complete, can be had at the office of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST. Price, 50 cents.

THE "THROWING-STICK" FROM ALASKA.—In the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST for July, 1890, Mr. John Murdoch has an article concerning the above-named object, to which I may be allowed to add a few remarks.

As to the main question, I must premise that since I received Murdoch's letter, which confirmed the Alaskan origin of the implement as suggested by Jacobsen, I have had no more doubt about this point. I also considered Jacobsen's discovery very curious and interesting, but was not greatly surprised. My original label to the stick reads: "Found among (other) driftwood collected at Godthaab." This driftwood is now generally supposed to originate in Siberia, and that such a piece of wood should occasionally be driven by wind and current from Alaska or Bering strait westward to this point does not seem surprising at all. On the other hand, true rarities are by no means wanting among stranded objects on the Greenland shores. Articles are found which indicate tropical homes or Indian workmanship, and these in their wanderings must have followed a course difficult to harmonize with our knowledge of the ordinary winds and currents.

My next remark refers to the stress I am supposed to have laid on the possibility of the stick having been fabricated by East Greenlanders, probably living north of 68° latitude. The fact is that I laid the least possible stress on this suggestion, and yet nobody can have more confidence in Jacobsen's observations than I. But serious scientific research, I think, requires that before so important and so detailed conclusions are drawn as those which were occasioned by Jacobsen's survey of the throwing-stick all other possibilities at variance with them should be considered and other authorities should be consulted, especially in America and, as to East Greenland, in Denmark.

The relic here under discussion has been brought into relation with the relics of the Jeannette expedition, which have been submitted to more careful investigation and discussion, but it differs widely from the latter in regard even to the chief questions. There is not the least indication of the time its wanderings have taken, and who can know what roundabout route it may have traveled? Perhaps it has been frozen up several times and been released again. Similar considerations may, perhaps, account for the fact that, as Murdoch states, the question about the remarkable throwing-stick has attracted little or no attention outside of the Danish and the Norwegian journals. In the former, even, I believe my article is the only one that mentions it.

H. RINK.